DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 161 269 FL 009 749

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TITLE The Dynamics of English as an International, Foreign, Second and Auxiliary Language.
PUB DATE Apr 78
NOTE 41p.; Paper presented at Conference on English as an International Auxiliary Language, East-West Center (Honolulu, Hawaii, April 1-15, 1978).

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Communication (Thought Transfer); Cultural Factors; English; *English (Second Language); Grammar; Language Instruction; *Language Proficiency; Language Research; Language Role; *Language Styles; Language Usage; *Language Variation; Learning Processes; Linguistic Borrowing; Pidgins; *Second Language Learning; *Sociolinguistics; Speech Communication; Syntax
IDENTIFIERS Auxiliary Language; Interlanguage

ABSTRACT

From a consideration of variability in language-learner and language-user data, the concept of proficiency is considered in relation to models of second and foreign language learning. Proficiency is defined in relation to four separate dimensions: grammatical well-formedness, speech-act rules, functional elaboration, and code diversity. This provides a framework for considering two distinct models of language development: language learning viewed as movement along a developmental continuum, and language learning viewed as a non-developmental lectal continuum. These two models underlie the distinction between foreign language learning and second language learning. These are then related to contexts for language use that typically lead to four types or models of second and foreign language behavior: the instrumental, intergroup, integrative and interactional language models. These four functions are considered, and examples of their effects on the form of second and foreign language behavior are illustrated. Implications for second and foreign language learning theory and teaching methodology are discussed. (Author/AMH)

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THE DYNAMICS OF ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL, FOREIGN, SECOND AND AUXILIARY LANGUAGE

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Prepared as an invited paper for a conference on English as an International Auxiliary Language, East-West Culture Learning Institute, The East West Center, Honolulu, April 1-15, 1978.

FL009749

The key issue that this conference addresses itself to is the question of variability in language use. Variation in different directions, and variability in principled ways, has generated the terminology we use to talk about English in different settings around the world. Terms such as pidgin, creole, post creole continuum, lingua franca, second language, auxiliary language and foreign language, are attempts to characterize important features of this variability in particular circumstances of language contact and language use. In 'English speaking countries' variability in the use of English has been described within the context of variation according to region, education and social standing, subject matter, medium and attitude (Quirk et. al., 1972). Yet in other circumstances where English is used, we have not as yet developed a satisfactory terminology or theory, adequate to account for the nature of the variability that is observed. This conference is therefore a venue for an attempt to make progress in this direction. It is the question of principled differences between the way English is used in English speaking countries, and in other parts of the world, that is the focus of this conference; English as an international auxiliary language.

I want to began by considering approaches to the description of learner-language and language-user data which have been made within the rapidly expanding research area now referred to as "second language acquisition." I shall throughout use the term interlanguage as it is used in second language acquisition research, to refer to the language system or learner lect, developed by second and foreign language learners through their attempted production of a target language norm (Selinker, 1972; Corder, 1967). There is a considerable amount of ongoing research into the nature

of interlanguage phenomenon (Richards & Kennedy, 1977). In this paper I want to integrate some of the distinctions that have been made in interlanguage studies into a broad framework that will enable me to consider the dynamics of second and foreign language communication.

Variability in Learner-Language Data

Learner-language data, be it the written or spoken language produced by language learners, can be viewed from a number of perspectives, depending on whether one's primary interest is in learning principles, communication strategies, or some other dimension. I want to consider interlanguage first from the point of view of proficiency, since the concept of proficiency is central to what we understand by English as an auxiliary or international language. What do we understand by proficiency, and is a single model of proficiency appropriate for different circumstances for the use of English? Four aspects of proficiency will be considered here; grammatical well-formedness, speech act rules, functional elaboration, and code diversity.

Grammatical Well-Formedness

Much of the recent research into the nature of interlanguage phenomena has centered on the nature of the grammatical variability of interlanguage data. Research has focussed on questions such as the following;

Is L2 acquired in a developmental sequence?

Are developmental sequences the same for L1 and L2?

What variables govern the appearance of developmental sequences? To what extent does the L2 learner rely on prior L1 knowledge? Are grammatical rules acquired in an invariant order across language learners with different language backgrounds?

(Wode, 1976; Hatch, 1978)

Research directed to such questions has lead to syntactic measures of proficiency (Burt, Dulay and Hernandez, 1975). There has also been an attempt to determine an index of second language development, comparable to say, the mean length of utterance used in first language studies. This would be an objective linguistic measure which could be used to determine the degree of proficiency of a second or foreign language user (Larsen Freeman and Strom, 1977). For our purposes here it is sufficient to note that second language users are sometimes compared for evidence of differing degrees of mastering of the rules of the target language. Terms made use of in the literature to refer to differing degrees of grammatical development include on the one hand, redundancy reduced, simplified, pidginized, and on the other, elaborated, expanded, complexified, creolized, and so on (Corder, 1975; Valdman and Phillips, 1975).

Speech-act Rules

A speech act I will loosely define as the production of language for the realization of a certain intention (For relevant discussion see Fraser, 1977; Platt and Platt, 1975; Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). For example the intention Request person to close window might be realized by a request - "please close the window," or by a statement from which the addressee will infer the intent - "Isn't it cold in

here." What are the rules by which intentions are realized as speech acts? This is the focus of an area of second language research which goes by the rubric of pragmatics and discourse analysis. We can relate proficiency in a second or foreign language to the degree to which the language-user has acquired the speech act rules of the target language.

Searle states that there are over 1000 verbs in English such as state, assert, describe, warn, remark, comment, order, request, approve, criticize, apologize, censure, welcome, promise, express, approval, express disapproval, etc, which mark speech acts. Communication conflict and communication breakdown can result from the transfer of speech act rules from one language to another, or from misinterpretation of speech act rules in the target language (Clyne, 1975a).

The ways in which speech-act rules differ from one culture to another are sometimes dramatic, yet extremely subtle. The anthropologist Geertz, for example, describes how when he studied Javanese, he was also taught how in Javanese culture, one has to acquire a rigidly formal way of doing things which conceals one's feelings. Geertz describes a typical situation that his language teacher would use in the model conversations they used to teach him Javanese;

> "Two men are speaking. One wants something from the other (a loan, a service, his company in going somewhere) and both know it. The petitioner does not want to put his petition directly for fear of angering the petitioned; and the petitioned does not want to state his refusal directly for fear of frustrating the petitioner too severely. Both are very concerned with the other's emotional reactions because ultimately they will effect their own. As a result they go through a long series of formal speech patterns, courtesy forms, complex indirections,

> and mutual protestations of purity of motive, arriving only slowly at the point of the conversation so that one is taken slowly by surprise."
> (Geertz, 242)

American businessmen doing business in Japan encounter similar examples of different speech-act rules, formalized almost to the degree of ritual, involved, for example, in negotiating a business contract. The American is frustrated by the inability of his Japanese counterpart to get to the point. The Japanese finds the American aggressive and in too much of a hurry. One particular type of speech event - the telephone conversation - has been discussed from the point of view of different speech act rules, particularly from the viewpoint of sequencing and turn taking. Schmidt has discussed the considerable differences between the way a telephone conversation opens in a typical American, as opposed to a typical Egyptian telephone conversation. One of the differences is that there is "a strong reticence on the part of both callers and answerers in Egypt to give self-identification on the telephone before ascertaining the identity of the other ... repeated hellos are an attempt to ascertain identities through the channel of voice. If this device is unsuccessful, Egyptian callers demand identification by the answerer far more frequently than do American callers." (Schmidt, 1975). Hence foreigners living in Egypt, commonly feel that there are no rules for telephone conversations in Egypt. They interpret the Egyptian ritualized organization of the speech acts as being disorderly, due to differences between the way American and Egyptian telephone conversations are handled.

Different cultures may have institutionalized functions for particular speech acts. In one society, as Clyne points out,

persuasion may be realized by the promise of a bribe, or by a threat of a complaint to a higher authority. Danet, quoted by Clyne, in her study of Israeli's communication with bureaucrats, concluded that Israeli-born and European migrants stress more their status and occupation, while the near eastern migrants appeal more by recourse to their family occupations (Clyne, 1975a). Apologizing and joking are also areas where there are often marked cross-cultural differences of this sort. The domain of speech-act rules has been much less researched than that of grammatical development in second language learning, yet clarification of the role of speech-act rules is vital to our understanding of second language proficiency.

Functional Elaboration

Several approaches to analyzing language from a functional perspective have been proposed (Halliday, 1973; Robinson, 1972). A problem with functional approaches is that language is normally used multi-functionally, and the question of the validation of taxonomies remains unresolved. In considering proficiency from a functional perspective the focus is on the ways in which the functions assumed by the target language for the language user determine the form of the interlanguage. "In initial stages of second language learning, the target language serves only a narrowly communicative function; as a consequence, it is acquired in a highly deviant form that exhibits all the characteristic features of pidginization; emphasis on content words, invariable word order, elimination of functors, etc. As the target languages range of functions increases the learner's interlanguage progressively expands and complexifies" 8

(Valdman, 1977, p. 2). Rivers (1977) adapts a functional model proposed by Halliday (Halliday, 1973) to provide for nine language functions;

1. instrumental: manipulating and controlling the environment.
2. regulatory: exercising control over others--the language of rules and instructions.
3. interactional: language defining and consolidating the group.
4. personal: language enabling the user to identify and realize their own personality.
5. heuristic: language as a means of learning about things.
6. imaginative: using language to create one's own environment.
7. representation or informative: language used to convey messages about the real word.
8. ludic: rhyming and making up nonsense words; trying out the possibilities of language as it is being acquired.
9. ritual: language defining the social group; language as good manners.

Valdman compares two dimensions along which language learning may be compared, the grammatical and the functional. He proposes that "the key to interlanguage development lies in an understanding of the relationship between the two systems" (Valdman, 1977, p. 7). In one situation for example, the interlanguage may be relatively well-formed grammatically, but have a low degree of functional elaboration. This may be particularly true of classroom-acquired foreign languages, where the emphasis is often on grammatical correctness-on form, rather than on content, or on what Widdowson calls rules of use rather than rules of usage (Widdowson, 1975;

Compare also, Krashen, 1977). Other learners, such as immigrant workers, (Clyne, 1975b) may acquire a language primarily as a functional tool in a non-classroom setting. Their interlanguage may be relatively efficient functionally, but lack grammatical well-formedness. Alternatively a language learner may progress in a balanced way along several directions or proficiency; the grammatical, the speech-act and the functional. Valdman, considering just the grammatical and functional dimensions illustrates three different models of development for an interlanguage;

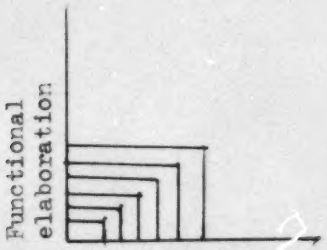


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

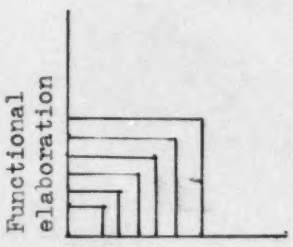


FIGURE 3

(Valdman, 1977)

The degree of functional elaboration and development also affects a related dimension, that of topic and content diversity of the interlanguage, which can be measured by type token density, availability, (Mackey, 1965) lexical density (Linnarud, 1975) and related measures. A language-user's interlanguage may be relatively well developed grammatically, but deficient in the range of topics which he or she can talk comfortably about. This may lead to topic avoidance, paraphrase, and other strategies of communication which shape the interlanguage in particular ways. Where there is a

functional differentiation between languages in bilingual communities, certain topics may generally be discussed in one language (e.g. business, politics, education) and other topics in a different language (home life, religion). Ervin-Tripp (1968) studied changes in the content of conversations according to language shift of the participants. When bilingual subjects were interviewed in Japanese, they gave different responses to word association and sentence completion tests, than they gave to the same stimuli when interviewed in English. Thus in sentence completion tests, a subject completed a sentence beginning when my wishes conflict with my family with; it is a time of great unhappiness when answering in Japanese, and with I do what I want, when answering in English.

Code Diversity

In addition to proficiency being defined in terms of grammatical and speech act well-formedness and range of functional elaboration, the degree to which the interlanguage reflects code distinctions must be accounted for. This refers to whether variation is possible in the interlanguage along formal-informal, standard-colloquial, written-spoken dimensions, and whether the learner possesses rules allowing for variation in the interlanguage according to participant-role and setting factors. Speaker-receiver roles for example, reflect dimensions such as age, sex, social proximity and occupation. Studies of native-language communication have attested the importance of role factors on the form of speech events (Hymes, 1968). Observations of mother-talk to young children have demonstrated that mother-talk is different from adult-directed language (Snow, 1972). 11

Mother-talk is more explicit and relies more on the immediate observable environment than adult talk. Even young children use different speech styles according to the age of the addressee (Sachs and Devin, 1976). However the speech of foreign language users, even when quite a high degree of grammatical competence has been achieved, may be relatively inflexible in terms of code variation. This inability to adjust for role factors may be a cause of frustration and anxiety among second and foreign language users.

Segalowitz (1976) investigated the effect of a non-fluent language user attempting to adjust his or her interlanguage when a casual style of French was required. The hypothesis he investigated was that the Anglophone subjects would show considerable discomfort when casual French was required compared to a situation where careful French was called for since they were most familiar with a careful classroom register of French. It was also hypothesized that the subjects would handle their discomfort in the casual speech condition by downgrading the personality of the interlocutor, and by believing that the interlocutor formed a bad impression. The results of the study supported this hypothesis.

Certain roles require specific types of speech acts. For example, a nurse is in a superordinate position in relation to a patient in a hospital, and may be required to comfort, or console the patient. However she herself is in a subordinate position in her relationship with the doctor. Herman (1968) reports that an immigrant nurse in Israel described how much more confidently she used her halting Hebrew when she was speaking to patients under her care than when she used it with other people. Children of immigrant workers in Australia have also been observed to switch from a type

of worker-pidgin when they speak to their parents, and to use a dialect of English closer to standard Australian English when speaking to their peers. Here the child would appear to be adjusting his or her speech in the case of child-adult talk, so as not to downgrade the parent's status by a demonstration of superior language ability, and to vary his or her speech repertoire towards standard English when speaking to a peer, so as not to downgrade the child's own status vis-a-vis a peer.

In foreign language classes, the student's productive use of the target language may vary according to the role the child is required to play within the classroom learning situation. When the teacher is the instigator of communication, asking questions, instructing, demonstrating, etc. the learner may appear to be a non-fluent language user. However when the classroom activity changes to that of a peer-teaching situation, the learner now takes on the role of teacher and may become a more fluent language user. This is the rationale of some individualized language teaching activities.

Setting factors may also influence the foreign or second language code. Sampson has noted how phonological features in immigrants' English vary according to whether the setting is the classroom or the playground (Sampson, 1971). Likewise a public rather than a private setting may require a different code in the foreign language. A foreign student in France, for example, would need to know both formal French, and the informal 'argot' spoken by students on the campus. Knowledge of only formal French would not enable the student to communicate effectively with other students. Similarly a foreigner learning Indonesian for use in Jakarta, would need to acquire three distinct repertoires in Indonesian. Formal

Indonesian would be required for such settings as talking to a government officer; informal Indonesian would be needed for talking to mixed company at a party, or when talking to Indonesian colleagues in the office. The third variety of Indonesian, the so-called Jakarta dialect, would be useful for contacts with a broad range of Indonesians in very informal settings.

Models of Proficiency and Models of Language

What I have suggested is that in looking at language-learner data, we can view it according to a least four different, but related dimensions of variability, encompassing linguistic, communicative, functional and code factors in the speech event. The analysis could be pursued to show how each factor contributes in different ways to our understanding of language proficiency. However convenient such taxonomies of factors affecting second or foreign language use may turn out to be, we need to note that they are all defined with reference to a norm-oriented understanding of the target of learning, English, French or whatever the particular language may be. But while it may be plausible to view certain models of language acquisition in this way, as moving towards a single norm, it is not the only model for language learning. It may work quite well in the case of the child acquiring his or her mother tongue, or an adult studying a language like Thai or Polish. Yet it is not always an appropriate model for English. What is needed in accounting for the role of English as an international, auxiliary foreign and second language, are models that will take account of different contexts for the use and learning of English. It is models intended for this function which I wish to consider now. I hope in this way to isolate

the major factors which determine the dynamics of EIAL and other English speech events.

When I speak of a "model" of language, I mean the purposes, roles and characteristics of a language when it is used as an international, auxiliary, foreign or second language. It is the "who speaks what to whom and why?" I wish to consider four basic models of language that are needed to characterize the different contexts around the world where English is used. By considering the differences between these models it will be possible to describe the nature of certain EIAL speech events.

Models of Language and Speech Events

The four basic models of language are what can be called instrumental, intergroup, integrative and interactional, adapting terminology, and even definitions from other sources for language models (Halliday, 1973; Schumann, 1975). They are defined as follows;

1. INSTRUMENTAL: Language for the transmission of referential denotative information; language for communication; language for manipulating and controlling the environment.
2. INTERGROUP: Language to communicate with someone who is not a member of our group.
3. INTEGRATIVE: Language to mark affirmation and/or solidarity with another group; language to show similarily with another group; language as good manners.
4. INTERACTIONAL: Language for intragroup functions; language to define and consolidate a group; language to mark membership of a group.

All uses of English as an international, foreign, second or auxiliary language, can be regarded as instrumental. Particular contexts for the use of English vary as to their intergroup, integrative or interactional functions. Let us consider these functions or models for language in turn.

English for Intergroup Functions

Intergroup English speech events may be of two types; English used between speakers with different mother tongues, or English used between two speakers, one of whom has English as a mother tongue and the other does not. The term lingua franca is commonly applied to the first situation, and foreign language to the second (Rice, 1962). These two contexts for intergroup uses of English need to be considered separately since they represent quite different communication networks.

Samarin observes that when a natural language becomes a lingua franca, it often loses some of its vocabulary or its syntax (Samarin, 1962). Pidginization is the constant reduction of the functions of language both in its grammar and use (Hymes, 1971). A pidgin is a special case of pidginization. Since a pidginized form of English, that is, a form of English where auxiliary tense, and plural inflexion is often ommitted, and with reduced syntactic and lexical complexity, can still perform instrumental functions quite satisfactorily, other models of language need to be posited when the interlanguage proceeds beyond the pidginized level to become closer to the target language in terms of grammatical and speech act well-formedness, functional elaboration and code diversity. In such

cases we need to refer to the integrative model of language.

English for Integrative Functions

Both a lingua franca and a foreign language may be spoken with varying degrees of proficiency, as defined above. The integrative function for language by definition relates language proficiency to attitudinal factors such as self esteem, lack of ethnocentricism, empathy with the target language community, etc. (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Schumann, 1978). In the case of a pidginized interlanguage, despite opportunity for further language development we would posit not necessarily the absence of such attitudinal factors as constitute the integrative function, but a failure to relate them to language proficiency. The integrative function is not necessarily related to the physical proximity of speakers of the target language. It might be assumed, for instance, that lingua francas, in the absence of native speakers of English, are more likely to show fossilized pidginization than foreign languages, yet one finds examples of language users within an English speaking country using heavily pidginized interlanguages, and language users physically remote from native speakers of English, who have managed to acquire an elaborated non-pidginized code. Schumann relates the former situation to degrees of social dominance, assimilation, acculturation, enclosure etc. (Schumann, 1978).

Whinnom introduces the term hybridization in describing different contexts for linguistic change. He talks of primary, secondary, and tertiary hybridization. Primary hybridization is the development of dialects in a language. Secondary hybridization

in the process of interaction between a native speaker and a non-native speaker of a language. Tertiary hybridization is the case when the target language is withdrawn, as for example, with a pidgin (Whinnom, 1971). Whinnom discusses the case of Cocoliche, a variety of Spanish once extensively spoken by Italian immigrants in Argentina. This represented a continuum of interlanguage varieties of Spanish, renewed at one end of the continuum by the arrival of new immigrants from Italy, and brought into gradual approximation to Spanish at the other by social assimilation with the superstrate community. Since the interlanguage had no institutionalized role within the immigrant community it was an individual rather than group phonomenon;

> "Cocoliche was completely 'unstable' in given individuals, since there was almost invariably continuing improvement in performance in achieving communication with Spanish speakers (and the succeeding generation acquired native Spanish). Furthermore the acquisition of lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic material must with each individual speaker have been subject to chance, so that the speech of no two individual cocoliche-speakers was ever quite identical (this is a consistent phenomenon with secondary hybridization). Nevertheless, the system as a whole, however ephemeral in given individuals, and however broad a series of spectra it encompassed, was fairly clearly <u>predictable</u> and was continuously renewed in recognizable and labellable form from year to year and from generation of immigrant to generation of immigrant."
>
> (Whinnom, p. 98)

We may regard the learning of English as a foreign language as a case of secondary hybridization (gradual movement toward the target language). The different learner-varieties of English thus observed in particular individuals, resulting from pidginized to native-speaker-like, depending on the presence or absence of the integrative model of language, can be regarded as forming a <u>language</u>

learning developmental continuum. The differences between the way individual learners speak English in Japan, Norway, Germany etc. are hence illustrative of particular stages in the language learning developmental continuum which encompasses varying degrees of language mastery. Individual learners can be placed at different stages along this continuum of knowledge of target language rules. In each particular case, the learner is viewed as being in a transitional stage of learning. Further use, practise and exposure will enable him or her to gradually approximate closer and closer to the target language norm. Where the integrative function is absent, learning will fossilize at an arbitrary transitional stage, resulting in a pidginized variety of English.

In the case of lingua francas, either tertiary hybridization (movement further and further away from the target language norm) or secondary hybridization may take place, according to the proficiency and motivation of the participants.

English for Interactional Functions

An interactional model for language is a non-native language used for intragroup, rather than intergroup functions, and which derives from this function the role of defining and consolidating the group or nation and to mark membership of it. Since English is the most widely used language with this special function, we will consider briefly the circumstances where this situation has arisen. Two different types of historical contexts for interactional uses of English need to be considered. The first is situations where linguistic and social interaction between speakers of English and

other languages has resulted in radical tertiary hybridization and the consequent formation of English based pidgins. These have in some instances a disappeared (e.g. China coast pidgin English) elsewhere they may have been adopted for more widespread use (e.g. New Guinea or Papua Pidgin English), or they may have undergone creolization and decreolization (e.g. Jamaican creole and Jamaican English) (Todd, 1974). The second type of situation is instances where pidgins have not arisen, but where indigenization of English has taken place. By indigenization I mean the evolution of distinct varieties of English as a result of the widespread use of English in new social and cultural contexts (Kachru, 1965, 1969, 1976; Richards, 1977; Tongue, 1974). This is the situation of Singapore, India, the Philippines, and so on.

The question of the precise relationship between social and linguistic interaction which produces radical linguistic change resulting in pidgin languages, remains an unresolved issue in the history of these languages. Grimshaw asks; "What is it about the differential experience of language contact sites that has sometimes resulted in pidginization, (variously culminating in creolization, in the maintenance and continued renewal of the pidgin, in the disappearance of the pidgin ... and in other cases produced no special contact language at all?" (Grimshaw, 1971, p. 432). Grimshaw sees three factors as crucial in accounting for pidgins; the patterns of conflict relations, the industrial or commercial context, and the disproportionate numbers of speakers of English compared with the speakers of other languages involved.

In contexts where indiginization of English has been the outcome of language/social contact, we are generally dealing with the following 20

circumstances;

a. Countries which were formerly under Colonial American or British administration.

b. Countries characterized by multilingualism and multiethnicism. Such a degree of multilingualism was the principal reason for initially promoting the use of English in schools, rather than a local language.

c. The existance of en elite schooled in English, which has promoted the use of English as a working language in parliament, the courts, the post and telegraph and most government departments.

d. A linguistic conflict exists as to the relative position of local languages such that promotion of the one local language might be resisted by members of different ethnic groups.

e. Lack of a dominant national language to serve as a rallying point for the nation.

f. A consequent widespread use of English in the school system.

(Rice, 1962)

A major difference between conditions for the development of a pidgin in one context, and for the indigenization of English in another, is that in the pidgin case, the contact situation provided neither the opportunity nor the environment for the learning of English. The disproportion between English and non-English speaking groups, the servile or semi-servile economic and political status of the non-English speakers, resulted in limited interaction networks with English speakers (Reinecke, 1969). Occupational, racial and social stratification meant that there was no solidarity between English and non-English speakers. English was not therefore considered to be a target for learning. By contrast in contexts where

English has indigenized, there is continued opportunity for the learning of English and access to important societal positions for a wide section of the community. (Richards, 1972).

What distinguishes most contexts where English has indigenized and has developed interactional functions, is that what began historically as a situation involving simultaneous secondary and tertiary hybridization but operating differentially according to the socio-economic background of members of the community, has now stabilized into a situation where basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal varieties of English have emerged. (Bickerton, 1975). The difference between these situations and the Cocoliche example described by Whinnom, is that through taking on intragroup, or interactional functions, English comes to be institutionalized within a new cultural environment, and in so doing is required to exhibit variability according to such dimensions as educational background, economic standing, region, ethnic group, and so on, in much the same way as do native varieties of English. Let us now consider some of these new interactional functions for English.

Since in the multilingual countries where English has interactional functions, no single language of the country serves adequately as a vehicle for the expression of national sentiments, this role has to some extent been assumed by English, ethnic identity being largely expressed through the use of the mother tongues. The situation is comparable to that in Indonesia, in that there national identity is expressed through Bahasa Indonesia, a second language for most of the population, and ethnic identity being expressed through the use of Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese etc. Singapore's

representative to the United Nations captured this feature of English when he said;

> "When one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane, and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say, this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no doubt recognizing that I'm a Singaporean."
> (quoted in Tongue, 1974)

Feelings of national loyalty are thus identified through the use of this interactional model of English, which would appear to be largely identifiable at the level of phonology. Thus if a Singaporean, an Indian, or a Filipino, were to reject this model of English in favour of British or American English, he or she would be regarded as presumptuous and affected. There is no motivation to model one's speech on a foreign pattern, any more than there is in Australia, New Zealand, or Canada. A different cluster of attitudinal factors operate from those present in the integrative foreign language model, leading in this case to the rejection of the foreign model and affirmation of a local norm.

Other interactional functions lead to distinct codes within the speech community, marking variation according to participant-role, setting, and social factors. While ethnic identity may be expressed through the mother tongue, there may still be a need to mark this dimension in interethnic communication. English may be spoken in Singapore with features that distinguish Malay, Chinese or Tamil speakers. In the Philippines a Tagalog or Ilocano speaker can be identified by a characteristic accent in English which there is no attempt or desire to eradicate. This confirms Samarins observation that "an inescapable aspect of language use is that it is more than a communication code; it also serves among other things

to mark ethos identification and prestige." (Samarin, p. 62). In interethnic communication, ethnic identity is hence one of several ethos identification dimensions. Formal versus informal registers will also be needed to mark different participant roles.

The process of indigenization of English can be seen to influence the four dimensions of language we noted above, encompassing rules for grammatical well formedness, speech acts, functional distribution, and code marking.

In Singapore English, variability with regard to a number of phonological, lexical and grammatical features is used to mark a number of factors in the speech event. One such feature is a sentence particle la, borrowed originally from Hokkien, but used in Singapore English to mark intimacy, familiarity and solidarity between participants in the speech event in addition to having emphatic function. The following extract illustrates the use of this particle, and is part of a telephone conversation in which two youths are discussing the purchase of a car;

> "Last time have (car). Now no have. Using motorcycle. My friend give it me la. Why you laugh?...Hey! Bernard ask me bring you along with me...to Lorong 7. I meet you after 4 at Orchard...four thirty...can...that day he ask me to go and enjoy...he got relative down there...I don't want...he is not there already la...not there la...no that day I meet him, I ask him about the car...he want one thousand man. I said I pay him 8 la...8 or you want more a bit, I don't mind la...I told Bernard like that...I told him, I pay you more a bit la. He want one thousand no less la!"
>
> (Richards and Tay, p. 143)

The sample also illustrates some of the grammatical characteristics of the basilect.

Setting is also a factor which influences choice of English or another language from the participant's repertoire, though topic and

proficiency may also influence code choice. A restaurant for example, is a typical setting for the use of Cantonese in Singapore, travelling in a bus, for the use of Hokkien, the school, for English and Mandarin, and the market, for Malay.

New speech-act rules are also developed, as the result of the merging of speech act rules from other languages, and as the result of different functional requirements for English. Stratton comments; "New conditions governing the appropriateness of speech acts are imposed. E.M. Forster makes good use of this fact in A Passage to India, where what an Indian couple intends as polite conversation is misinterpreted as a sincere invitation by Miss Quested and Mrs Moore." (Stratton, p. 136). Foreigners visiting Singapore likewise experience different speech act rules for such transactions as shopping and using the telephone. They sometimes interpret differences between their own speech-act rules and Singapore English speech-act rules as indicating a lack of politeness, where no such intention may have been prevent on the part of the speaker.

Within Singapore English, choice of the Acrolect, Mesolect or Basilect depends on both participant-role and setting factors and also on the socioeconomic background of the speaker. Platt comments;

> The whole range of the Singapore English speech continuum provides functional varieties for its speakers. Just as in Australian English, the highest attainable sub-variety a speaker of Singapore English can use is coupled to his educational standard and socioeconomic background--but he is able to drop quite easily and comfortably into 'lower' sociolects for functional purposes, a fact that is not usually possible for speakers of Australian English. The higher his position on the scale, the greater will be the range of the continuum which is available to him. Many Singaporeans who use the acrolectal sub-variety in lectures, debates and formal discussions use a masolectal sub-variety in more formal shopping and other transaction situations or in informal talk to strangers but they can also drop comfortably and without artificiality into the basilectal sub-variety when, for example, talking with friends or colleagues or a waitress at a restaurant.
>
> (Platt, p. 90)

Some of the grammatical characteristics of this basilectal sub-variety are seen in the following examples;

(a) Deletion of objects with transitive verbs.

Have you ordered the tickets?
No need to order. You go there and you can take.

(b) Got copula.

Here got indonesian boy staying.
So many telephone lines got busy today.

(c) Object fronting.

Lamb chop I don't know the price.

(d) Copula deletion.

Why the thing not working?
He also working today.

(e) Do deletion.

What he say?
You ever see him?
You ever go six o'clock show?

(f) Will deletion.

I get for you.
Hold on I get him.
When buy ticket for show?

(g) Adverbial tense marking.

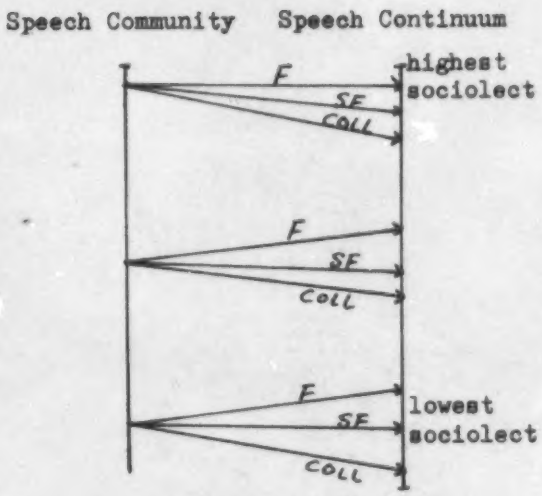
Last time my friend send card for new year.
That day so hot man.

(h) Generalized "is it" question tag.

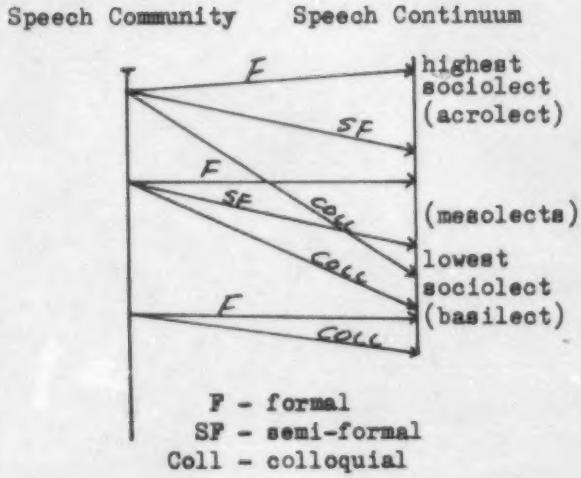
I can't come tomorrow.
Is it!
I have bought the tickets already.
Is it!

Platt illustrates the differences between the functional varieties of English available to a speaker of Australian English (I), and the functional varieties available to a speaker of Singapore English (II) with the following diagram;

I



II



(Platt 1975)

Difference Between Interactional and Intergroup Models

I will now attempt to summarize the basic differences between the different models of English discussed above:

1. When English is used for Intergroup functions, variation in individual proficiency is seen to reflect different stages of a developmental continuum that encompasses norm-oriented British or American rules of grammatical well-formedness, speech act rules, functional elaboration, and code diversity. The developmental continuum may be thought of as a process of recreation, or of progressive complexification, and can be illustrated in the following diagram;

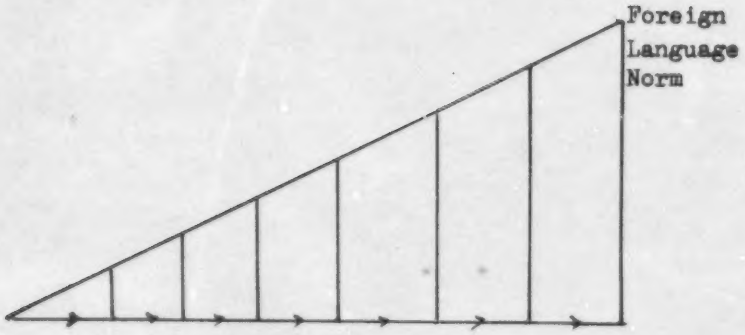


FIGURE 4. LANGUAGE LEARNING SEEN AS MOVEMENT ALONG A DEVELOPMENTAL CONTINUUM.

The vertical lines represent differing degrees of progress along the continuum of development, which culminates in mastery of the target language norms.

2. When English is used for Interactional functions we may speak of a non-developmental lectal continuum (Corder, 1977). Different lects can be described in terms of rules for Basilectal, Mesolectal and Acrolectal speech varieties, each with their own rules for grammatical well-formedness, speech acts, functional requirements and code marking.

Movement along the continuum is not seen as a process of recreation, but of restructuring, and the different lects are not regarded as progressively more complex or elaborate but as functionally differentiated. Acquisition of the acrolect is thus not related to length of exposure or motivation but depends on the degree to which the speakers socioeconomic position, and occupation, requires him or her to use the basilectal, mesolectal or acrolectal variety. This may be represented by the following diagram; 28

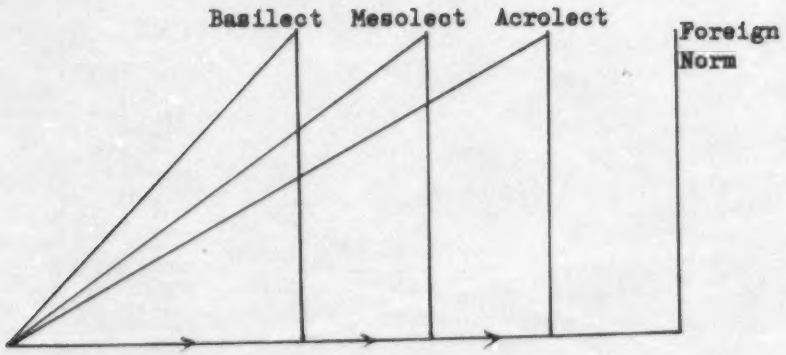


FIGURE 5. LANGUAGE LEARNING AS A NON-DEVELOPMENTAL LECTAL CONTINUUM.

The two contrasting models may thus be illustrated in the following diagram;

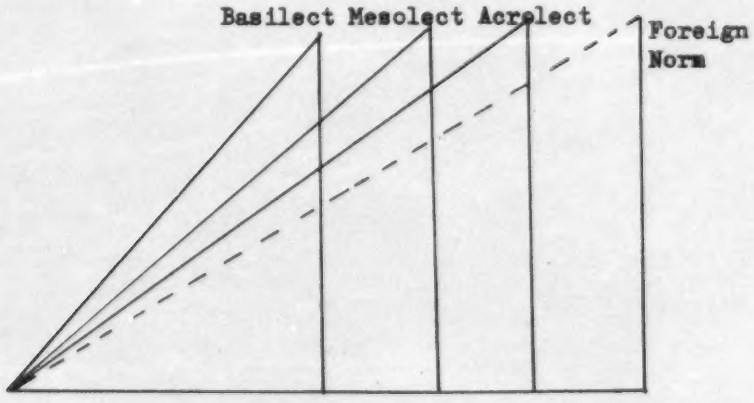


FIGURE 6. AN INTERACTIONAL AND INTERGROUP MODEL COMPARED.

The differences between the four different language models discussed above, and the differing types of language learning they produce can be seen in this figure 7.

PRODUCT	LANGUAGE MODEL			
	instrumental	integrative	interactional	intergroup
pidgin	+	-	-	+
creole	+	-	+	-
basilect	+	-	+	-
acrolect	+	(+)	+	-
pidginized FL	+	-	-	+
non pidgenized FL	+	+	-	+

FIGURE 7

There is an inevitable simplification involved in such a comparison, since we are unable to represent the different models represented by the basilect, mesilect and arolect themselves. Note that an integrative model is suggested as an alternative for the acrolect, which while distinct from the British or American parent model, does have identifiable links with one or the other norm. Some arolectal speakers use a superacrolect, suggesting an alternative integrative model for some members the community. This is normally seen as eletist.

Goals for English Teaching

In the present context, two different sets of factors operate with respect to determining goals for English teaching. Where English is being taught for ultimate intergroup functions, either for use with speakers of other languages (lingua franca) or with native speakers of English, the choice of norm, is made by learner, who may select either an integrative or a non-integrative model. There are no societal functions for particular norms or for particular levels of proficiency. While the model for teaching is usually the native speaker's model as proficient language user, the learner's model will be located at one or the other end of the interlanguage developmental continuum according to the presence or absence of an integrative language model and according to individual motivation, aptitude, exposure, practice opportunities etc. Since within an educational system catering for all segments of society, there is no way of knowing which learning model individual learners will adopt, a teaching model must at present be based on the native

speaker's norms. However, at the same time, we must recognize the fact that an integrative model for language learning is not true of all language learners, and that not all communication between non-native and non-native speaker in English, or between native speaker and non-native speaker, requires an integrative model of English. Very little research has been done in the area of what learner models constitute appropriate communication models for particular types of interaction. Further research is needed in the area of what has been called error gravity (Johansson, 1975; James, 1974) to determine which learner models function as the most effective communication models. Such research will have to go beyond the investigation simply of grammatical and phonological variables, and examine the communicative effect of violation of speech act rules, language function rules and code-marking rules. Hence the need for research into the ethnography of second and foreign language communication. Until a great deal more research has been done in this area the degree to which teaching models can be identified with learning models remains a question of speculation and opinion (cf. George, 1972, where teaching models and learning models are not sufficiently separated).

Where English has indigenized and taken on interactional functions, communication models for English have been institutionalized for different types of interaction in the community, and Basilectal, Mesolectal and Acrolectal speech varieties can be recognized for different types of interaction. The goals of English teaching in such settings is not to improve proficiency or to eradicate errors, but to develop fluency in the different lectal norms of the community according to rules for their soccolinguistic appropriateness. The

school and the classroom are only one source of input to the learning process in such contexts, and may be seen as a primary factor in establishing the acrolectal functions of English. English language teaching has here the goal of lectal addition and expansion.

ESL, EFL, EIAL?

In describing the complex factors that influence the role of English around the world, a diversity of terminology has evolved; lingua franca, contact language, second language, foreign language. It has recently been proposed that the term English as an International Auxiliary Language is a better description of the role of English around the world, and that there is no need to use the terms English as a second language or English as a Foreign Language (Smith, 1977). An international language is defined as "one which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another" and an auxiliary language is "a language, other than the first language, which is used by nationals of a country for internal communication." Before considering the appropriateness of modifying existing terminology, we need to note a further sense in which the term second language is commonly used. In the United States and elsewhere, it is widely used within applied linguistics, to mean the learning of any language after the first language, irrespective of whether that language has internal or external functions in the learner's country. The rapidly developing field of second language acquisition is thus used as a cover term to include the study of the inter-languages of second and foreign language learners. Hence it also includes the learning of English by immigrant and non-English speaking minority groups.

Consider firstly the term foreign language. This is applied to a language which is studied primarily to enable one to communicate with native speakers of that language. One studies Thai, Polish, Japanese etc. to communicate with Thais, Poles or Japanese. These languages do not normally function as lingua francas, and nor are they studied as such, though they could be used as lingua francas. Where the orientation is primarily interaction between native and non-native speaker, it is useful to speak of a foreign language. Since many languages will continue to be studied which have no significance as lingua francas, the term foreign language has quite a legitimate place in the vocabulary. University departments will continue to have departments of foreign languages, specializing in the languages and cultures of foreign groups. Thus, if I were to study Japanese as a foreign language, my interest would be both linguistic and cultural. It would be to communicate with Japanese people, hence a knowledge of Japanese customs and traditions would be an advantage.

If we accept the usefulness of the term foreign language in this sense, then it follows that English can also be called a foreign language when it is studied primarily for communication with native speakers of English. In this role, the cultural as well as the linguistic dimension are implied in the study of the language. For many users of English, English is primarily a foreign language, being used not as a lingua franca, but for communication with British or American people. This is particularly true of course for people in countries bordering on English speaking countries. There are French people who speak German to Germans, Italian to Italians, and English to the British. For such people English is a foreign language.

It is also useful to call English an International Language, when it is studied primarily for use with non-English speakers, i.e., as a lingua franca, or when its use is largely instrumental and is not conceived of as a vehicle for interaction with British and American people and understanding their thought and culture. Any language can function as an international language, but English is most widely used in this function, which for many learners complements, but does not replace, its function as a foreign language. I would suggest that the cultural (i.e. foreign language component) becomes less important, the further one moves away from English speaking countries; English-language text books designed for use in Germany, France, and Scandinavia, are too British for use in Thailand or Indonesia, where the international functions of English are more important.

Auxiliary language is a useful term to describe the interactional functions of English in countries where English has indigenized. There the term second language is a misnomer in that English is usually perhaps the third or fourth language in order of acquisition, but may in fact be the first language in order of priority in terms of its use for official functions. But the term auxiliary language is less useful if we apply it to the learning of English by minority groups or immigrants within English speaking countries, or by say, French Canadians. In the case of Canada, and monolingual English-speaking countries, English is conveniently described as the first language for native speakers of English, and the second language for speakers of other languages.

Hence I suggest we can legitimately speak of English as an International, Foreign, Second and Auxiliary language, and this more

accurately reflects its complex functions in contexts where it is not a first language. But alas, we have no academy to legislate our linguistic habits, and innovations introduced by proclamation have an even slimmer chance of acceptance. I look forward to the contributions of this conference for guidelines on future usage.

Acknowledgements

Some of the issues raised here were discussed among the participants at the Nordic Summer Institute on Interlanguage Studies, which Professor S. Pit Corder, Dr. Merril Swain and I conducted in Denmark from August 1-12, 1977. I am grateful to Richard Tucker, John Schumann, and John Platt for helpful comments on a working paper of mine entitled "The ethnography of second language communication" their reactions to which were helpful in writing the present paper.

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